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Chief, SR
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REDWOOD AEVIRGIL

Munich Meetings Commemorating the 40th Anniversary
 of the Bolshevik Revolution.

1. Under separate cover we are transmitting to you our report on the preparation and organization of two meetings in Munich commemorating the 40th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. Needless to say the going was rough for the AEVIRGILites. They were bitterly attacked by other Russian exiles, on the one hand for their participation in a meeting with Separatists, on the other hand for their insistence that all Russian organizations be invited to the meeting of the "Day of Irreconcilability". Because of the strong opposition to the AEVIRGIL Conference most Russian organizations insisted on the exclusion of those who participated in the AEVIRGIL Conference.

2. In full agreement with the suggestion in DIR 38899, 8 October 1957, to cooperate with FBCHORD in organizing the commemorative meetings, the AEVIRGILites were instructed to accept the FBCHORD invitation for joining their efforts. With FBCHORD willing to finance the meetings on a rather grand scale, it would have been a waste of money and efforts to stage separate meetings especially as we were concentrating on a meeting in Berlin, which AEVIRGIL-1 successfully planned and staged alone.

Enclosure: As stated above USC

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1. The American Committee for Liberation planned to have two meetings to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, a multi-national meeting with the participation of Germans, the Satellites, the minorities and the Russians, and another for the Russian emigres only, the traditional "Day of Irreconcilability". Mr. Melberdis of the American Committee requested TsOPE to participate in the organization of both meetings. Mr. Kromiadi and Colonel Antonov were to act for the American Committee among the emigres.

2. It became evident from the beginning that the going would be rough, as TsOPE was attacked for its willingness to participate in the multi-national meeting with the Separatists. In attempting to smooth out the differences with the minorities, TsOPE, surprisingly, received little support from Kromiadi and Antonov who indicated their reluctance to cooperate with the minorities although this was the desire of the American Committee. In the purely Russian emigre meeting, TsOPE's position of non-exclusion of organizations who participated in the Hague Conference was viciously attacked. TsOPE was told by the Russians that it was invited to participate only because officially TsOPE did not participate in the Hague Conference as an organization, and that those TsOPEISTS who took part in the Conference did it as individuals. However, these individuals, in particular Lebedev, were attacked personally. The leader of the forces attacking TsOPE in every case was Mikhailovsky, who was usually supported by Kromiadi.

3. The first preliminary conference to discuss the multi-national meeting was called on 17 October by the Paris Bloc who invited Satellite representatives but not the Russians. When it became evident that the Paris Bloc planned to come to an understanding with the Satellites and then invite the Russians to participate on definite terms previously agreed upon, the Satellite representatives objected to such procedure and insisted upon calling another preliminary conference the next day with full Russian participation. The Russians had a separate conference on the evening of 17 October to discuss the Russian "Day of Irreconcilability". On 18 October a joint conference for the organization of the multi-national meeting was held with some Russians including TsOPE, participating. It was the decision of the majority of the participants that the commemorative meeting would be a success only if the Russians and the minorities would agree not to raise any controversial issues and not to get into historical discussions that would offend the other party. This decision was approved by all participants except for Livitsky of the Paris Bloc, who raised objections. An organizational committee was elected including Igor Krenzas and Antonov representing the Russians. After some hot arguments as to what German organization should be invited to participate, the choice fell on the Arbeitskreis für Antifaschismus. A series of daily conferences followed in which only Antonov and Krenzas, sometimes Ruzhba or Danilev, represented the Russian emigres. After tedious arguments an agreement on speakers was arrived at. It was decided to have one speaker each representing the Germans, the Satellites, the Russians and the minorities. It was also agreed that the drafts of the speeches would be submitted before the meeting to the organizing committee and that speakers would agree "as gentlemen" strictly to adhere to the drafts. When Livitsky

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presented the draft of his speech. It was unanimously rejected by the committee as being offensive to the Russians. Livitsky actually based his speech on the political conceptions of the Paris Bloc, strongly attacking the Russians. After a lengthy and fruitless discussion between Livitsky and the other members of the committee, it became obvious that he would not accept any compromise. A proposal that a Hungarian should speak for all the emigres was also rejected by Livitsky. On 3 November Livitsky announced that the Paris Bloc would not participate in the multi-national meeting unless he was permitted to deliver his speech as he had written it originally. The Paris Bloc also attempted to sabotage the meeting by sending a delegation to the Chairman of the Arbeitskreis für Ostfragen to argue their point of view, but received no support. Thus, the multi-national meeting was held without the participation of the minorities, at least without their official participation, as leaflets attacking the Russians were being distributed to the public before the meeting started. The organizers of the meeting expelled the distributors and tried to collect the leaflets already distributed. TsOPE representatives went out of their way to accept some compromises with the minorities in order to preserve a semblance of emigre unanimity. For this effort TsOPE was attacked by other Russian emigres, especially by Mikhailovsky. It is interesting that when Mikhailovsky and his group, who refused to participate in the discussions of the multi-national meeting, found out that the minorities would not participate, they went to the American Committee protesting against Kronzas speaking for the Russians and proposed that another candidate be selected, presumably Mikhailovsky himself. The delegation had no success and Kronzas spoke for the Russians while a German Member of Parliament spoke for the Germans. In a demonstrative manner, Mikhailovsky and Krowtsch walked out when Kronzas was called upon to speak, but few people noticed them. In general the meeting was impressive and the speeches of high calibre. More than 500 people attended.

h. It seems purposeless to dwell upon the many trifling and ridiculous fights and arguments that accompanied the discussions for the Russian "Day of Irreconcilability". The main difference of opinion arose regarding the organizations to be invited. In this respect TsOPE stood firm on the demand to invite all Russian organizations willing to participate, while the position of the other Russians was that those who took part in the Hague Conference should be excluded as they showed themselves willing to accept the Soviet government under certain conditions and, thus, cannot be considered irreconcilable to the Soviet regime. The position of TsOPE was more difficult here because there were no neutrals, as was the case in the multi-national meeting where the Germans and the Satellites acted as arbiters. Time and again it was stated that TsOPE was invited reluctantly by the other Russians, as TsOPE in a disguised way did participate in the Hague Conference. The attacks on TsOPE and in particular on those members who personally were present in the Hague were directed again by Mikhailovsky. It is interesting that Mikhailovsky became so arrogant that his own organization, the "Malgunov" group, disowned him, which did not disturb him in the least as he announced that he was now representing the "Soldatenbund" which is a German Veterans organization, although as far as is known he has never been in the German, or any other, army. It should be added that the so-called Russian emigre organizations -- and there were more than a dozen of them -- were mostly

fictional organizations. One of the representatives admitted that there were only two members in his organization and that he was one of them and the other was in the United States. After days of wrangling and faced with the unanimous opposition of the other participants, the TsOPF representatives announced that unless all willing Russian organizations receive invitations TsOPF could not officially be one of the sponsors of the "Day of Irreconcilability" but would be present at the meeting. Thus, most of the leading TsOPF members were present at the Russian meeting but were not among the speakers. The attendance of the meeting was rather low and the speeches were mediocre and sometimes ridiculous, except for Mikhailovsky who as an expert critic presented an expert analysis of the 40 years of Soviet rule.

5. We should add that the Paris Bloc bitterly disappointed in being prevented from participation in the multi-national meeting on their own terms and in being unable to prevent the Russians from participating in it in their absence, staged their own meeting. Only about 60 persons attended, but at this meeting the leaflets attacking the Russians were freely distributed.

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